

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MEXICO 01874 01 OF 02 122145Z

71

ACTION SS-25

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P R 122015Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2967

INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MEXICO 1874

EXDIS

DEPT PASS ALL ARA DIPLOMATIC POSTS "FOR AMBASSADOR"

BOGOTA FOR AMBASSADOR

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, OAS, MX

SUBJECT: REFORM OF INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

REF (A) BOGOTA 1252, (B) STATE 030044, (C) OTTAWA 0497,
(D) STATE 022439,

1. I WAS EXTREMELY GRATIFIED TO READ AMBASSADOR VAKY'S ACCOUNT (REF A) OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO AND I AM GRATEFUL TO THE DEPT FOR HAVING GIVEN IT WIDE DISTRIBUTION. I WAS PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO READ LIEVANO'S ELOQUENT WORDS ON THE NEED FOR A CLOSER INTERACTION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA AND THE FACT THAT THE OAS PROVIDED THE MECHANISM BY WHICH A NORTH/SOUTH CHANNEL FOR THE HEMISPHERE COULD BE MAINTAINED. THIS IS A THESIS WHICH I, THROUGH PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE, HAVE ALWAYS SUSTAINED AND IN FACT THIS WAS BEHIND MY WORDS (PERHAPS OVERELOQUENT BUT HEARTFELT) AT THE LAST CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING. THIS WAS NOT A PLEA FOR THE STATUS QUO BUT AGAINST ILL-FOUNDED CONCEPTS WHICH COULD LEAD TO A DISMANTLING OF THE SYSTEM.

2. FIRST OF ALL, WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND WHAT WE ARE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 MEXICO 01874 01 OF 02 122145Z

TALKING ABOUT AND WHAT THE LATINS ARE TALKING ABOUT ARE

VERY DIFFERENT THINGS EVEN THOUGH THE SAME WORDS ARE SOMETIMES USED. FOR INSTANCE, A "REFORM" OR "UP-DATING" OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM TO THE LATINS CONSISTENTLY HAS MEANT SOMETHING QUITE DIFFERENT FROM OUR INTERPRETATION OF THESE SAME CODE WORDS. AT FIRST SOME IN THE DEPARTMENT TENDED RATHER WISHFULLY TO SEE THE THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S RESOLUTION 127 MERELY AS A WAY TO MAKE THE OAS MORE STREAMLINED OR "LEANER" AND BETTER OPERATED AND MORE EFFICIENTLY MANAGED. THE LATINS, HOWEVER, FROM THE FIRST REGARDED "UP-DATING" AS A CODE WORD FOR A CHANGE IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICAN PRECISELY IN ACCORD WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSENSUS OF VINA DEL MAR AND SUBSEQUENT CECLA DECLARATIONS.

3. WHEN THE SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR REFORM APPOINTED BY THE OAS, STARTED ITS DELIBERATION IN LIMA, LATIN INTENTIONS BECAME ALL TOO APPARENT. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY SO WHEN WE WERE DEALING WITH BROAD MATTERS OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS AS THIS BROAD FRAMEWORK GAVE OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY CONCEIVABLE ANTI-AMERICAN THRUST ALONG WITH THE EXTREME PROPOSALS ALONG CALVO DOCTRINE AND COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY LINES. IT WAS ONLY WHEN THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENCED ITS MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON, ADOPTING UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF DE LA COLINA AN ARTICLE BY ARTICLE APPROACH, THAT AT LEAST SOME ORDER EMERGED FROM THE PRECEDING CHAOS. SOME ARTICLES WERE IMPROVED FROM OUR STANDPOINT, ON OTHERS COMPROMISES WERE REACHED. BUT THERE REMAINED SEVERAL WHICH WE CONSIDERED INIMICAL TO IMPORTANT U.S. INTERESTS AND ON WHICH THE LATINS WOULD NOT BUDGE, ALTHOUGH WE WARNED EVEN THEN THAT WE MIGHT BE FORCED TO VOTE AGAINST THE WHOLE PACKAGE IF THEY PERSISTED. IT IS PRECISELY THESE ARTICLES, MOSTLY OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE WHICH CONTINUE TO TROUBLE THE DEPT AND WHICH WERE BROUGHT UP AT THE CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING AS THE THREE OR FOUR MOST OBJECTIONABLE IN THE PROPOSED REVISIONS OF THE CHARTER.

4. I NOTICE THAT FACIO HAS NOW EMERGED AS ONE OF THE "FOUR COMPATIBLE FOREIGN MINISTERS" WHO ARE EXPECTED TO

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MEXICO 01874 01 OF 02 122145Z

COME TO OUR RESCUE. YET AT THE 1974 TLATELOLCO MEETING IT WAS FACIO HIMSELF WHO PREPARED THE MOST SCATHING DENUNCIATION OF THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. DELEGATES IN THE REFORM COMMISSION (AND SPECIFICALLY IN COMMITTEE II DEDICATED TO ECONOMIC MATTERS). WHEN WE PRIVATELY INTERCEDED WITH FACIO AND SOME OF THE OTHER LATINS SAYING THAT IT WAS COMPLETELY UNFAIR TO ATTACK US (AND SPECIFICALLY THOSE

WHO HAD WORKED UNDER INSTRUCTIONS ON COMMITTEE II ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS) IN FRONT OF OUR NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, THE REPLY WAS THAT THIS WAS PRECISELY WHAT WE DESERVED BECAUSE PARTICULARLY IN COMMITTEE II WE HAD SAID "NO, NO, NO," TO EVERY PROPOSAL DEAR TO THE LATIN'S HEARTS. ONLY AFTER FURTHER PERSUASION, WHICH REQUIRED THE INTERVENTION OF SOME OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS (MORE STABLE IN MY OPINION THAN FACIO) DID HE AGREE TO REDUCE THE ELEMENT OF PERSONAL CRITICISM AS WELL AS TO MODERATE SOMEWHAT THE GENERAL TONE OF HIS INTERVENTION. (FOR DEPT'S READY REFERENCE I AM SENDING BY SEPTTEL THE TEXT OF THE EMBASSY'S COPY OF THE NOTES OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AT THE CONFERENCE OF TLATELOLCO OF FEB. 22, 1974, SPECIFICALLY AGENDA ITEMS 23 - RESTRUCTURING THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM -- GIVING THE INTERVENTION OF THE COSTA RICAN FOREIGN MINISTER, SECRETARY KISSINGER'S REPLY AND THE BRIEF OBSERVATIONS OF THE VENEZUELAN FOREIGN MINISTER.)

5. IN OTHER WORDS THE STICKING POINT STILL REMAINS, IN THE WORDS OF LIEVANO (REF A), TO FIND "WHAT WOULD PROVIDE THE SUBSTANCE FOR RELATIONS AMONG US AND FOR WHICH THE OAS WOULD PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK". ONCE AGAIN IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE ARE BEING DELUDED INTO PURSUING FORM IN AN EFFORT TO ESCAPE SUBSTANCE. AND THE SUBSTANCE THE LATIN'S WANTED AT TLATELOLCO, AS IN THE SPECIAL REFORM COMMISSION MEETINGS IN LIMA AND WASHINGTON, LIES PRECISELY IN THE ITEMS WE WISH TO REMOVE FROM THE PROPOSED CHANGES OF THE CHARTER. INDEED, ACCORDING TO THE WIRE SERVICES, ON THE EVE OF THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO LATIN AMERICA, ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER QUIJANO HAS REITERATED THE SAME LATIN OBJECTIVES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 MEXICO 01874 01 OF 02 122145Z

6. WE HAVE NOW ONCE AGAIN RUN SMACK UP AGAINST THE CONSENSUS OF VINA DEL MAR, AS IN GROSSO MODO THE ITEMS ON WHICH WE GAG IN THE PROPOSED REFORMS OF THE CHARTER ARE LARGELY OF ITS INSPIRATION.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ARA POSTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 01874 02 OF 02 122214Z

71

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P R 122015Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2968

INFO AMEMBASSY BOGATA

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 MEXICO 1874

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7. NOW AS TO FORM, OF COURSE THE OAS CAN AND SHOULD BE MADE LEANER, MORE EFFICIENT AND MORE EFFECTIVE AS AN ORGANIZATION. I FEAR, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS WHISTLING IN THE DARK TO APPROACH THIS AS A FIRST PRIORITY, OR ONE WHICH WILL SOLVE THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES. EVEN AS TO FORM WE MUST BE REALISTIC. WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND, FOR INSTANCE, THAT THE MOVING OF THE SEAT OF THE ORGANIZATION OUT OF WASHINGTON (TO WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER SEEMED SO AVERSE WHEN THIS WAS DISCUSSED AT THE PRIVATE SESSION OF THE CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING) WAS PROPOSED BY FACIO HIMSELF AS WELL AS BY HIS THEN PRESIDENT FIGUERES (NOW THE HOST OF VESCO) AT THE SAN JOSE MFM IN 1971. THE PROPOSAL WAS GREETED WITH POLITE SILENCE (AND HIDDEN LAUGHTER) BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO SAW THE ENORMOUS DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING IN AND OUT OF SAN JOSE BY AIR AS WELL AS THE DEFICIENCIES OF COMMUNICATION. THE INVITATION TO MOVE TO SAN JOSE WAS AGAIN MADE BY COSTA RICA DURING THE LIMA MEETINGS OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSION AND MET WITH EQUALLY UNENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE, PARTICULARLY BY THOSE WHO SAW AT FIRST HAND THE POLITICAL PRESSURE EXERCISED BOTH OVERTLY BY THE PERUVIAN PRESS AND COVERTLY BY THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT AND SECURITY FORCES ON SOME OF THE DELEGATES. THE GENERAL CONSENSUS THERE WAS THAT ONLY IN THE U.S. COULD THE ORGANIZATION FUNCTION, PERHAPS WITHOUT PUBLICITY AND ALMOST IGNORED BY THE U.S. PRESS AND MEDIA BUT AT LEAST WITH ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF ACTION. (IN THIS CONNECTION IT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MEXICO 01874 02 OF 02 122214Z

OCCURS TO ME THAT IF ANY MOVE WERE TO BE PROPOSED, THE SUGGESTION OF A U.S. CITY OTHER THAN WASHINGTON AS HEAD-QUARTERS MIGHT CONCEIVABLY FIND SOME FAVORABLE ECHO OF APPROVAL, AS GIVING THE LATINS BOTH THE SECURITY AND

THE PUBLIC VISIBILITY THEY DESIRE WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME SACRIFICING WHAT SECRETARY KISSINGER SAW AS THE BENEFITS OF OUR KEEPING THE SEAT OF THE ORGANIZATION IN THE U.S.)

8. SIMILARLY, REGARDING THE ELIMINATION OR DIINUTION OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL AND A FURTHER INCREMENT OF POWER TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, LET US KEEP IN MIND THAT THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN A U.S. OBJECTIVE AND AGAIN ONE THAT THE LATINS HAVE FOUGHT TO PREVENT. IN THE LATINS'S MINDS A POWERFUL SECRETARY GENERAL HAS ALWAYS SEEMED A THREAT TO THEIR INTEREST, FEARING THAT A SINGLE POWER CENTER WOULD BE TOO EASILY VULNERABLE TO U.S. MANIPULATION. (ACTUALLY, I MYSELF AM NOT SURE THAT THE OPPOSITE MIGHT NOT ALSO BE THE CASE--IMAGINE SOMEONE OF THE DYNAMISM OF LUIS ECHEVERRIA AS SECRETARY GENERAL.) FOR THIS REASON I FEEL THAT DESPITE OUR FRUSTRATION THE BASIC INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED ARE BEST PROTECTED THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC/PARLIAMENTARY CONTROLS EXERCISED BY A DELIBERATIVE BODY SUCH AS THE COUNCIL. EXCESSES ON THE PART OF INDIVIDUAL PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD SOMETIMES BE SUFFERED IN PATIENCE AS THEY ARE OFTEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE; ON OTHER OCCASIONS THEY CAN BE ANSWERED IN DIRECT DEBATE WHILE IN STILL OTHER CASES THE COMPLAINT CAN BS TAKEN UP BILATERALLY WITH THE HOME GOVERNMENT (AS IN THE RECENT PITY CASE). THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN IS THAT SOME OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES FAR FROM BEING OUT OF TOUCH WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS, OCCUPY POSITIONS THAT ARE CONSIDERED MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE WHITE HOUSEAMBASSADORSHIPS. SOME HAVE BEEN EX-FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHERS HAVE GONE FROM THE PERMANENT COUNCIL TO BE FOREIGN MINISTERS THEMSELVES. QUIJANO OF ARGENTINA IS ONLY THE MOST RECENT CASE IN POINT.

9. THE PERMANENT COUNCIL, FRUSTRATING AND LONG-WINDED THOUGH ITS DELIBERATIONS MAY BE, IS AT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MEXICO 01874 02 OF 02 122214Z

LEAST AN EXPRESSION OF THE LATIN WAY OF DOING THINGS. WHEN THEN SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS PRIVATELY EXPRESSED HIS DISTASTE AS A FLORID (BUT STIRRING) SPEECH MADE BY THE VENEZUELAN OAS AMBASSADOR AT THE PHILADELPHIA MEETING, SOME ONE OBSERVED THAT IT WAS AS FUTILE TO EXPECT THE LATIN AMERICANS TO ATTEMPT THE AMERICAN MANNER OF SPEECH MAKING AS IT WOULD BE TO EXPECT THE CHINESE TO DO SO.

10. WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT THE CREATION OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL WAS IN ITSELF A LANDMARK IN THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT OAS, AS
THEREFORE THE PAN AMERICAN UNION'S GOVERNMENT BODY
HAD BEEN COMPOSED OF THE WHITE HOUSE AMBASSADORS
CHAired EX-OFFICIO BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE. IT WAS
IN THOSE DAYS THAT THE ORGANIZATION BECAME KNOWN
AS THE U.S. COLONIAL MINISTRY. LET NOT OUR WELL-
INTENTIONED SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORM APPEAR TO BE
REGRESSIONS TO THE PAST.

11. ONLY WASHINGTON WITH ITS OVERVIEW MIGHT JUDGE
WHETHER IN ORDER TO PRESERVE OR FOMENT "SOME SPECIAL
RELATIONSHIP" (AGAIN REFERRED TO BY LIEVANO) IT IS
POSSIBLE OR WORTH OUR WHILE TO BITE THE BULLET REGARDING
LATIN DEMANDS. AGAIN I MUST DEFER TO THE COGENT
PRESENTATION OF AMBASSADOR VAKY AS SET FORTH IN HIS
ADMIRABLE LETTER OF NOVEMBER 13, 1975, THE LAST
PARAGRAPH OF WHICH READS: "UP TO NOW ALL THE DISCUSSION
HAS TAKEN PLACE AGAINST THE ASSUMED BACKDROP OF A
MULTIPOLAR WORLD, INTERDEPENDENCE AND DETENTE. BUT
SUPPOSE DETENTE COLLAPSES AND WE SLIP BACK INTO A COLD
WAR (OR A COLD WAR MENTALITY)? THEN WHAT VALUE WOULD
REGIONALISM OR A "SYSTEM" HAVE--WERE WE ABLE TO HAVE
KEPT THEM ALIVE?" REGARDLESS OF ITS COMMON MARKET
MEMBERSHIP, I DO NOT SEE GREAT BRITAIN REMOVING ITSELF
FROM THE COMMONWEALTH DESPITE THE HEADACHES, THE EXPENSES,
AND OTHER SACRIFICES MEMBERSHIP MUST ENTAIL (INCLUDING
THE PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION FROM EX-COLONIAL AREAS). I
NOTE THAT EVEN CANADA (OTTAWA 497) IS UNDERTAKING A
NEW STUDY REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY OF ENTERING INTO EVEN
CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH THE OAS.
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PAGE 04 MEXICO 01874 02 OF 02 122214Z

12. IN SUMMARY, THE PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO HELP
JOG THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE US REALIZE THAT WE HAVE COME FULL
CIRCLE IN OUR CONCENTRATING ON FORM WHILE THE LATINS ARE
THINKING OF SUBSTANCE. SUCH A CIRCULAR TACTIC MAY BE
USEFUL AS A TIME BUYING DEVICE (AND MANY LATINS SEE IT
AS JUST THIS). HOWEVER, IT BEGS THE QUESTION OF
WHETHER OUR REAL INTERESTS LIE IN THE FOMENTING OF A
"SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP", WHICH, GRANTED, WOULD REQUIRE
CREATING THE NOW LACKING POLITICAL WILL, BUT SUCH A
RELATIONSHIP MIGHT STILL BUILD ON OUR
COMMON HEMISPHERIC PAST AND OUR COMPLEMENTARY ECONOMIES
AND WOULD BE ONE WHICH WOULD STILL BE OF GREAT USE TO
US IN A WORLD IN WHICH DETENTE MAY DECREASE. FRANKLY,
IN THIS WORLD OF INCREASING REGIONALISM, I SEE THE
DANGER OF A LONELY FUTURE FOR THE U.S. LATIN AMERICA
MAY NOT BE THE PERFECT BEDFELLOW BUT IT IS BETTER THAN

SLEEPING ALONE.

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